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ABSTRACT

An observational study of peer dynamics found three very different systems of peer interaction among Hawaiian children at three preschools. The children were demographically similar: part-Hawaiians from lower to lower-middle class backgrounds. Sixty children were studied in videotaped sessions. In Preschool 1, children usually play as dyads; in Preschool 2, as stable groups of four to seven; and in Preschool 3, as fluctuating groups of three or four. Observations indicated that differences arise because children in the different schools spent their days in different social situations. Teachers established different social contexts and encouraged different interaction techniques; presented different interactive models to students; and held different beliefs on how students should relate to each other. Children were found to be very adaptable to each of these different contexts. (Tables summarize differences in peer dynamics in the three preschools and include selected transcripts of the observed play.) (TM)

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The Effects of Teacher Style on Peer Dynamics in Three Hawaiian Preschools

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The Effects of Teacher Style on Peer Dynamics in Three Hawaiian Preschools

When I started studying peer dynamics among Hawaiian children. I expected to observe a set of interaction routines which I would be able to characterize as typical of young Hawaiian children. I expected to observe patterns which matched those noticed in Hawaiian homes. I thought I would be able to write papers with lines such as, "Hawaiian children do X." Instead, I studied three Hawaiian preschools and found three very different systems of peer interactions.

This was confusing because the children were demographically similar across the sites. Almost all were part-Hawaiians from lower to lower-middle class backgrounds. They were 3.5 to 4 years old at the start of school. Preschool I had more girls than boys and Preschool 2 had more boys than girls. But the differences in peer dynamics have continued through this year, even though both classes have equal numbers of boys and girls.

Children in Preschool 1 and 2 lived in a relatively rural, Hawaiian homestead are, while children in Preschool 3 lived in an ethnically Hawaiian area of the city of Honolulu. An initial was that differences in peer dynamics might stem from this rural/urban differences. However, peer dynamics in the urban classroom, this year, more closely resemble the rural than the

urban classroom last year. The population of Preschool 1 has stayed the same, while it's program has changed in major ways.

Since the children did not differ greatly in background, I looked at differences in school situations to account for differences in peer dynamics. I found that the children in different schools spent their days in different social situations. Different teachers encouraged different interaction techniques and routines. They held different beliefs as to how people should relate to each other.

The Hawaiian children adapted to these situations. They modified what they knew about interacting to accommodate to these conditions. The observed and imitated new interaction routines. They assimilated new ideas of how to relate. Mainly, children tried to make sense of their new social worlds and tried to find satisfying places within them. Children came up with different adaptive solutions.

In this paper, I describe the adaptations they made to three different social ecologies. First I describe the observed differences in peer interactions. Then I relate these to differences in the social context set up by teachers. Then I consider teachers' statements indicating interaction beliefs and techniques they encouraged - explicitly or implicitly - in the classroom. I then illustrate differences in peer dynamics and contexts with six videotaped segments.

My purpose is to emphasize the extreme adaptability of these children. The cultural patterns I observed were not cross-context interaction styles. Rather, they were ways in which children modified their existing beliefs to accommodate to novel situations.

Observed Differences in Peer Dynamics

The observed differences in peer dynamics across the three preschools are summarized in Table 1. The data-base is a set of videotaped peer interactions involving 60 preschool children. The children were taped throughout the school year, 1984-1985. Each child was videotaped in a rotating order for 10-minute periods. The child wore a wireless microphone to improve the soundtrack. Six, 10-minute segments of peer activity were collected for each child.

Preschool 1. In the Preschool 1 tapes, children usually play as dyads. They play elaborate fantasy games and engage in long conversations. They talk about home and past experiences. They express opinions and describe plans. They talk about rules of the classroom and how the teacher expects them to act. They look at books together and ask each other the same kinds of questions their teacher asks them. They help each other solve puzzles, build towers, roads, train-tracks and villages.

The two children accommodate to each other, moment to moment, in their play. Each child describes the course of play s/he

wants to take, and the other either follows or suggests a different course. In this way they jointly develop the theme. The same activity (such as playing with the zoo set) differs greatly from one day to the next.

Dyadic friendships and friendship triangles are the salient social units in this area. Children are not loyal to a particular small group, as in Preschool 2. Nor do they vie for position in a large group hierarchy, as in Preschool 3.

Preschool 2. In Preschool 2, children play in stable groups of four to 7 children. These groups consist of children who sit together at the same table. The teacher assigns permanent places at the tables at the beginning of the year and gives each group a name. The children spend much of the day in these units. During freeplay and recess they often choose to play together as well. Strong dyadic friendships develop within the stable groups.

Each group develops a set of roles, rules and routines. The children play the same games again and again and perfect their routines. Individuals often play the same roles across renditions of a game. House and School are played frequently during indoor freeplay. Boat and Monster are observed on the playground. The groups also cooperatively build towers, villages, zoos and roads. They sing, perform dances and play circle games learned from the teacher.

Sophisticated social roles emerge in the stable groups. There are silent and vocal leaders, inventors, helpers, mediators and followers. Children generally cooperate. They rarely bully, tease, taunt, criticize or exclude others.

Preschool 3. In Preschool 3, children play in groups of three or four. Membership fluctuates from moment to moment as individuals move from one activity center to another. Children engage in many activities, but their interactions consist mainly of fighting for a high position in the fluctuating dominance hierarchy. By the middle of the year, a separate dominance hierarchy has emerged for boys and girls and play is segregated. Children spend much time bullying, bossing, teasing, taunting, attacking, criticizing and excluding others. Alternatively, they defend themselves against such attacks. They try to enter and remain in the in-group. They do this by demonstrating strong loyalty to its leaders. Children form and re-form the in-group frequently.

Which factors effect these differences? In this study I considered: 1) differences in social context set up by teachers in the typical school day; 2) differences in interaction routines teachers encouraged and modeled; and, 3) differences in teachers' beliefs concerning interpersonal relating - as stated and inferred from their actions.

Differences in contexts, routines and beliefs

Preschool 1. Differences in social context within the school day are summarized in Table 2. The children in Preschool 1 spend 29% of the morning session in large group activities directed by the teacher. These consist of group discussions in which she asks children to describe and think about experiences and to formulate and express opinions. The discussion consists of a series of dyadic exchanges between teacher and child. The teacher encourages children to elaborate their ideas. She listens to these and incorporates them into the discussion. Children listen to each other patiently, but interact mainly with the teacher.

The children spend 12% of their time doing Montessori-like tasks by themselves. When a child finishes a task, s/he takes it to the teacher. The teacher asks the child to describe what s/he has done and engages the child in a short conversation while recording task completion.

Children also play quietly in dyads during work-time. They spend 12% of the morning playing with toy figures and construction materials in these self-selected pairs.

During transition periods, children sit at their tables, in stable groups of four. They talk quietly. This occupies 10% of their time.

Unstructured peer play, such as recess, accounts for only 8% of their time.

The children spend most of the day either observing or participating in dyadic interactions. These are either with the teacher, aide, or peers.

Under these conditions, children learn to formulate and express their own ideas and plans. The teacher states that she wants them to learn to think independently and to express these thoughts well.

Fantasy play flourishes in the dyadic situation. Each child follows the other's train of thought. The theme zig-zags back and forth between the players.

Preschool 2. The children in Preschool 2 spend 39% of their time in large group activities directed by the teacher. They go to morning circle, singing-time, story-time and organized outdoor play. The teacher structures the day around detailed group routines. Children follow the steps of the routine. They sing the same song, perform the same dance, play the same game, mark days on the calendar and decide on helpers in much the same way, day to day. Each child knows what to do from past experience.

The children also spend 39% of their time in stable groups of 6 or 7. Within these groups, they do seat-work and go to language and art activities. The often choose to play together during freeplay as well.

The children coordinate small group play the same way the teacher coordinates large group activities. The develop group

routines and then each child follows the shared routines. They play House again and again and develop a set of common themes, roles and rules. They remember these from session to session. Each child knows what to do and when. Play is smoothly coordinated.

To achieve such coordination, children must conform to the shared routine. This limits the amount of creative elaboration allowed in the play. Interaction, however, remains complex as children juggle and conform to numerous roles and rules.

Children seem to like to organize play. They spend a lot of time planning activities, distributing roles and developing rules.

The teacher at Preschool 2 states that she would like children to learn to be active, cooperative members of groups. She structures the day and models techniques to help children develop these skills.

Preschool 3. Children in Preschool 3 spend little time in teacher-directed activities (19%). They spend much time (81% of the morning session) in unstructured peer play, either in large or small groups.

The small groups fluctuate greatly n composition. The classroom is divided into five activity centers. Children rotate from center to center when they wish. The only constraint is that no more than four children can play in a center at a time.

Under these conditions it is unclear what a child should do at any particular moment, nor with whom. Children have had extensive experience with peer play at home, but school is different. At home, roles are determined by differences in age. Older children organize activities and show younger ones what to do. At school, children are the same age at it is unclear who should lead. Also, materials and activities are novel. Many children have only a rudimentary understanding of how to play with these. Rules for coordinating group play have not yet developed.

Children in Preschool 3 seem to be at a loss under these conditions. Teachers encourage them to interact among themselves, to make their own decisions and settle their own conflicts. The adults provide few models for how to interact and what to do with the materials. Children are left to their own devices.

Usually children adapt well to freedom. But in this case, the social situation is both new and complex. Group composition shifts rapidly at the whim of individual children. It is not possible to develop enduring routines under these unstable conditions. Children are provided few neutral structures and little training to deal with the complex interactions.

To add to the confusion, the teachers encourage a split between the adult and child worlds. The expect them to solve their own peer-problems and organize their activities. They use

shaming techniques when children fall to remain organized under these conditions. Children resist such shaming and the split widens. It quickly becomes fashionable to resist authority, making the teachers' work very difficult. Problems escalate until the situation seems to be one of the children vs. the adults.

Under these conditions the children in Preschool 3 become rivalrous among themselves as well as resistant to adults. By the middle of the year, they spend most of their time competing for social position.

Dominance interactions are highly routinized. One child bullies, the other resists or succumbs. One child teases, the other retaliates or cries. Children mar each other's work and refuse to share materials. They criticize, blame and battle on each other. They have neither the time nor the security to elaborate ideas - beyond the elaboration needed to establish place in the hierarchy.

Videotaped Segments

I would like to show two videotaped segments from each class to illustrate these dynamics. The segments are transcribed in Transcript 1 through 6.

Segment 1. (See Transcript 1). The first segment is of two children in Preschool 1. The children look at and discuss books together. They ask each other questions about the pictures. B.

(the boy) establishes a questioning routine which they then follow. The question form is: "You ever can ____?" He fills the blank with various phrases: "You ever can hunt like this? You ever can do like this? YOu ever can go by him?" E. picks up on this routine and uses it to form her question: "You ever can swing on the monkey bars?"

The children imitate the teacher's practice of asking questions about pictures and they copy the kinds of questions she asks. The teacher encourages children to think about what they see. She asks them to put themselves in the pictured context, to remember similar experiences, to imagine what might happen next and to imagine what might happen if the characters acted differently. She asks: "How does <u>your</u> Mommy wake you up?" "Would you get near the lion?" "What would happen if the snake were in a cage with bars?" "What you think Mr. Bird is whispering to his friends?" and "If the cat said he was going to eat Mr. Bird, do you think Mr. Bird would be whispering to him?"

The children apply thinking questions across contexts - to pictures, toys, and events they see on t.v. They generalize routines across contexts, rather than apply them only to situations in which they originally observed them. They copy the <u>meaning</u> of a routine rather than its exact form, translating Standard English into Hawaiian English. The teacher provides

models for thinking and talking about experience. The children use these in a range of play situations.

Dyadic play is highly elaborative. In dyads, children need to attend to only one other person. They have the time and attention to create and understood innovations. In groups, children need to attend to several children at once. They need to present ideas in a form which can be understood by many. They need to understand diverse ideas. Group coordination requires a certain degree of conformity to a shared routine. This limits the degree of elaboration. [Show Segment 1].

Segment 2. (See Transcript 2). This segment is of two children in Preschool 1 engaging in fantasy play. The boys jointly develop a fantasy game, using toy people and a doll house. First one child is Santa Claus and the other is a boy who waits for him on Christmas eve. Then Santa gets into trouble and is rescued by the boy. Then the boy turns into a tiger who threatens to eat Santa. Then Santa turns into a boy running from the tiger. Finally, the tiger turns into a protective Mommy who lets the boy into the house to escape the tiger.

The boys change roles rapidly. Sometimes they label these shifts: "Now I change to a Mommy." Other times, they simply act within the new role as when Santa changes into a boy by calling, "Mommy! Mommy!" The theme also shifts rapidly as each child

accommodates to the other. Fantasy play is highly elaborative under these conditions. [Show Segment 2].

Segment 3. (See Transcript 3). Segment 3 is of a stable group of children in Preschool 2. The children play with clay at their table. They convert individualistic, parallel-play into a group activity - cooking spaghetti as a family.

The group plays House often. Roles such as Mommy, Daddy, and Grandma are favorites. Many children claim these roles, but the dominant children tend to play them.

Children have specific positions within this group. L., the girl on the far right, and Jo., the boy in the front, left, are the group's quiet leaders. They quietly make decisions as to what the group will do next. Vocal, but less powerful children, such as the boy wearing the microphone, often suggest new ideas for play. They need to secure the leaders' cooperation, however, before the group will move in that direction.

In this segment, Ku. initiates spaghetti play and secures L.'s and Jo.'s cooperation. Children ask L. if they can play particular roles. Ku. tries to claim dominance and call the shots, but is superseded by L. and Jo.

The children enjoy organizing play. They spend most of this segment negotiating roles. [Show Segment 3].

Segment 4. (See Transcript 4). In this segment, children in Preschool 2 eat lunch at their table. Within this group, strong

dyadic friendships have emerged. The boy with the microphone (R.) desperately wants to be S.'s friend. (S. is the blond boy on the right). He is the vocal leader of that group. R. tries to engage S. by asking him questions and telling him about events at home.

In this segment, R. announces to S., Mrs. V. and others that his parents are splitting up. His friends listen and ask concerned questions. Sharing personal information is common within this group. [Show segment 4].

Segment 5. (See Transcript 5). This segment illustrates the physical struggles for dominance which occur in Preschool 3. Fights such as the one on the tape were frequent during the middle of the school year. The boy wearing the microphone in this segment, Ke., is considered to be the strongest in the class. Without provocation he attacks T., a weaker boy who is playing quietly nearby.

T.'s friend B., is the number 2 boy in the hierarchy. B. comes to defend T., saying, "Don't do that to my friend." B. has the courage to stand up to Ke., but lacks the wrestling technique. Ke. twists B.'s arm behind his back and he loses the battle. Ke. then taunts B. until he attacks a second time. B. loses again.

By the end of the year, B. develops wrestling techniques. He stands up the Ke. and beats him. He comes to be considered the strongest, most popular boy. [Show Segment 5].

Segment 6. (See Transcript 6). By the end of the year, physical fighting gave way to verbal competition. In this segment, the three strongest, most popular boys vie for position. B. and Ke. are more powerful than Ka., the boy wearing the microphone. Ka. scrambles for their attention and confirmation. B. encourages Ke. to gang up against Ka.

Children gain status in this group by annoying the teachers. Therefore, much of the their behavior is misbehavior. The teachers use shaming techniques to try to control them. Boys mock these attempts and their behavior becomes even less controlled.

Much of the boys' talk consists of insults, threats and references to adult, macho themes such as girlfriends, sex, fighting, breakdancing and cars. The boys also make ethnic slurs. In these respects, children in Preschool 3 seem to be older and more street-wise than children in the other preschools. [Show Segment 6].

Conclusions

Hawaiian preschool children exhibit a wide range of peer interactions. Peer dynamics differ greatly in three observed preschools. Theses differences may stem from differences in

social contexts, interactive models and interaction beliefs presented to the children, through the structure and content of their day.

Teacher's conceptions of how people should interact, effect how they structure the school day. Teachers set up particular social contexts, model specific interaction routines and encourage certain behaviors. Hawaiian children are highly adaptable. They adjust to culturally similar and culturally dissimilar contexts. They apply what they already know about interacting to adapt to the novel, school conditions. They adapt in a variety of ways. They do what they can to develop gratifying, safe relationships among peers.

Children in these preschools seemed to develop more gratifying relationships when the interactive situation was structured, when peer groups were stable, when interaction and activity routines were explicitly modeled, and when management techniques excluded shaming. Different forms of gratifying relationships, however, developed in the different classrooms.

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TABLE 1
DIFFERENCES IN PEER DYNAMICS ACROSS THREE HAWAIIAN PRESCHOOLS

Typical:	Preschool 1	Preschool 2	Preschool 3
Play unit:	Stable dyads	Stable small groups	Fluctuating small groups
Form of contact:	Elaborate 1-to-1 interactions	Group games with stable theme, roles, rules and routines	Dyadic and small group interactions for determining position in the dominance hierarchy.
social unit:	The dyadic friendship	The small, cohesive group	The individual and in-group
Social process:	Dyadic cooperation: each accommodates to the other's agenda. Each develops and expresses his or her own agenda.	Group coordination: each follows a group agenda. The agenda specifies roles, course of play, & rules.	Individual and small-group competition: children fight each other singly and as small groups, for position. They engage in routines for bullying, bossing, teasing, taunting,
Activities:	Fantasy play: the dyad develops and elaborates the theme, moment to moment. Materials: dollhouse, cars, trains, village, castle, farm, zoo-sets.	Fantasy play: the group follows a preset agendum. They play: House (cooking, cleaning, going on vacation); School (story time, lessons, scolding children)	Fantasy play: children vie for position while playing War, Karate, Going to Jail, Accidents, Monster, Family Arguments and other aggressive themes.
	Construction play: the dyad jointly plans and solves problems while building with blocks, legos and doing art activities.	Construction play: the group builds towers, villages, roads in relation to a conventional pre-established plan.	Construction play: children compete for the best product. They hoarde materials and wreck each others' productions.
	Looking at books: children engage in didactic discussions about books. They ask each other questions.	Looking at books: the group plays 'school' and also acts out the familiar stories.	Looking at books: peripheral children do this by themselves.
Discussions:	Topics of talk personal experiences, wishes, plans.	Topics of talk: rules, roles, group plans & routines	Topics of talk: who is in and out, one's friend, the stongest.

TABLE 2
INTERACTIVE CONTEXTS IN THREE PRESCHOOLS

Percentage of time spent in these activities:	Preschool 1 (morning=255 minutes)	Preschool 2 (255 mins.)	Preschool 3 (240 mins.)
Large group activity which is directed by the teacher. The teacher is the focus of the interaction. Children interact almost solely with her. For example: morning circle, calendar time, language lesson, demonstration, group discussion, story-reading.	29%	39%	19%
Large peer group activity which is not structured by the teacher. For example: freeplay, recess.	8%	22%	37%
Small peer group activity in which the group composition varies from day to day or moment to moment. For example: doll corner, block corner, art table, snack, lunch.			
Teacher decides composition:	5%		
Children choose groups:		0%	44%
Small peer group activity in which the group remains stable.	10%	39%	0%
Dyadic peer activity. For example: fantasy play, blocks, books.	12%	0%	0%
Individual work: Montessori tasks	12%	0%	0%
Periods in which interaction is discouraged: watching t.v., lunch.	24%	0%	0%

TRANSCRIPT 1
PRESCHOOL 1: A DYAD LOOKS AT AND DISCUSSES BOOKS

B. (boy)	E. (girl)
Like read this one!	
	Look at da other one.
You ever can hunt like this? (Shows E. his picture of a lion).	
	(E. looks through her book).
You can go by him? (Points to E.'s picture of a buffalo)	
	Yeah.
No, by him, the horn on top him?	
	Yeah.
You can go ride on top him?	
	I can hold on his horn and go "gi-yup horsey."
You ever can hunt like this? (Shows E. his own book).	
	No. (Looks through her own book).
You ever can . . .	Oh---kangaroos!
You ever can do like this? (Nods toward his picture of an animal).	
	Yeah.
You ever can do like this? (Turns page to another animal).	
	Yeah.
You ever can do like this? if you was over here? (Points to his picture).	You can . . .
	You ever can swing on the monkey bars? (Shows her picture of a monkey swinging in the trees).
Yeah.	
You ever can hunt like dis? (Turns page).	
and hunt like dis? (Turns page).	No.
and hunt like dis? (Turns page).	No.
and hunt like dis? (Turns page).	No.
and hunt like dis? (Turns page).	No.
and hunt like dis? (Turns page).	No.
and then---the end! (Turns page).	
and then you can hunt like dis?	
You ever can go right over here by him? (Points to a rhinoceros in E.'s book).	
	Yeah---no. But I can go by the baby one---'cause he no more one horn.
Only the Daddy one and you can go on top the Daddy one?	
	No. But I can go on the baby one.
You can, you can, you can go right by the horn? You ever can go right by the horn?	
	(Shakes her head 'no' vigorously).

TRANSCRIPT 2
PRESCHOOL 1: TWO BOYS ENGAGE IN FANTASY PLAY

S.	B.
(Flies toy figure toward B. and doll house).	
Catch me. Higher and higher and higher.	
You gotta catch me now.	
You gotta catch me.	
Quick.	
	Inside the house.
	Look, Santa Claus give you toys.
Ooooo.	
Where?	
	Over here.
Yeah.	
Where Santa Claus now?	
	He went go.
And he's coming again.	
	He's coming.
	He's coming.
You ring the bell so many times.	
And then, and then--	
Mommy, look, surprise for you-- a birthday cake.	
	Where? where? where?
A birthday cake upstairs.	
	Okay.
	(Moves away to the table, with his
Bye, bye.	figure).
	(Makes his figure start to fall off the table)
	Help me, help me, help me little boy.
	Help me!
(Comes to help).	
You can jump on the bed.	
	Doosh. (Figure falls onto S.'s hand).
	Duke, duke, duke. (Makes his figure climb onto S.'s back)
	Okay. Go! Duke, duke, duke, duke, duke.
Jump on my tail; you have to jump on my tail.	
Okay. Then you came on my back. Then you came on my head. You came on my nose.	(Does these).
Then I going eat you.	
You came on my mouth.	
Huma, yum (eats figure).	
	(Makes figure flee to the house).
	Mommy, look, one tiger!
One big, giant tiger.	Oh (struggles with dollhouse handle).
	The thing stuck!

TRANSCRIPT 2 (cont)

S.	B.
Eh? (Tries to pry it open).	
	Hey, you, the handle.
Oh yeah, the handle.	
There. (Open the house).	
	There.
	Mommy, mommy--
	Mommy, mommy, help!
No, you don't know where the door stay.	
You gotta find the door.	
	Yeah. (Moves figure toward door).
	E.: Here's the door.
No, the other door.	(B. frantically looks for the door).
The house door.	
I broke this house.	
Watch out!	
Broke already.	
	Get all the toys!
Now I change to a mommy now.	
	(Looks at S.).
	Mommy, mommy.

∠ Boys on left	2 Boys in front	Ku. (boy with microphone)	2 Girls
	Jo.: I making spaghetti. Ja.: I making spaghetti.		
			G.: Me, too, I making spaghetti.
		I making spaghetti. I making for dinner.	
			G.: I the Mommy.
	Jo.: I the Daddy.		
		I the baby--ga ga.	
			L.: I the mudder.
		I...This my clay. Ga-ga Mommy, look it, Mommy, look, take it for my clay.	
			G.:#####
			L.: I the mudder.
			G.: I the mudder.
	Jo.: I the Daddy.		
			G.:#####
		Da-ddy, Da-ddy!	
			G.:I the mudder.
		I the big brother, cooking dinner.	
Mk.: I going be the brudder; Have two brudder, kay?			
		Yeah. No fight, yeah?	
Ma.: I the baby.			
		I, I, How 'bout 2 babies? How 'bout, how 'bout 2 Daddies?	
Ma.: Yeah, I the Daddy.			
		How 'bout 2, 3 Daddies?	
			G.: How 'bout 10 Daddies
		(to G.) Hon, Hon, I can't do this spaghetti.	
	Jo.: I the Daddy.		
		I the Daddy, too.	
			G.: Make your guys' spaghetti nice!

2 Boys on left	2 Boys in front	Ku. (boy with microphone)	2 Girls
		Hon, Hon, look, look what baby bought . . . a snake. Cook it.	
			(L. reaches for G's clay) I get this one.
			G.: Don't. It's gonna bite the arm off.
			L.: I get them all.
		No! It's only spaghetti.	
			(G. and L. argue over the clay).
	Ja.: I the Daddy, okay, L.?		
		I the Daddy.	
			L.: This is my snake. Nobody took it.
			G.: I'll hold your snake so nobody can take it. #####
Ma.: I the baby.			
		Hon, I'm cooking this big #####, this crooked #####.	
			L.: And ### the Daddy.
Ma.: I the baby.			
		Who want be the grandpa?	
Ma.: I the mama.			G.: Not me.
		Who want be the grandpa?	
Ma.: Me!			
		Okay.	
			L.: I the grandmother.
		Who like be the grandma?	
			G.: I plenty snake.
	Jo.: Making spaghetti. Ja.: for dinner.		
Ma.: Us making plenty spaghetti, yeah?			
	Jo.: Yeah, for dinner.		

TRANSCRIPT 4
PRESCHOOL 2: DISCUSSION AT LUNCH

Girl	R. (boy with microphone)	S. (blond boy)	Others
	(to S.) I going move out, you know. My father not going move out on us. My mother and my small brother. They going move out your know. Mrs. V., Mrs. V., Mrs. V., Mrs. V. us going move out. My father not going move out on us. My mother and my brother, us going move out.		Mrs. V.: K., eat your own!
	No, my father going stay with my grandma them. We gotta move out.		K.: Not your mother and your father?
		Where you guys going move out? the beach?	R.: You guys going live by your own self? Where you guys going move out?
C.: At you fada's work, yeah?	No, I not going down the beach. Us going... (Shakes head 'no'). Not at my father's work. S., us going move out yeah, my mother. Me, my mother and my brother, yeah, move out, yeah.	##### you can move out.	
	I know.		

TRANSCRIPT 5
PRESCHOOL 3: PHYSICAL STRUGGLES FOR DOMINANCE

Ka. (boy with microphone)	Others
	(The teacher takes the toy phone from Ka. because he has been too noisey).
(Ka. walks to the center of the room. He pushes C.).	
	(C. moves away).
(He grabs M. from behind and lifts him off his feet).	
	(M. whines and moves away).
(He chases E. and then pulls her hair).	
	(E. whine and moves away).
(He pursues E. and grabs at her Easter basket).	
	(E. pulls away).
I just like see! (He rummages through her basket. He pulls out the grass and drops it on the floor).	
	(E. whines and pulls her basket away).
(He wanders around, calling into his microphone). Microphone! (He goes to a tripod magnifying glass and looks through it).	
	(M., who has been following him, puts his hand under for Ka. to look at).
(Ka. yanks M.'s arm, hard).	
	(M. whines and pulls back his hand).
Don't do that then!	
(Ka. puts his face close to M.'s, threatening. In doing so, he spills the shells).	
	Teacher (thinking M. has spilled the shells): M., M., M., clean that up!
You gotta pick up, too, you know!	
	(M. picks up shells, then shows one to Ka.) Look.
(Ka. pushes a shell into M.'s cheek).	

Ke. (Boy on far left)	B. (Boy on right)	Ka. (Boy with microphone)	Others
	(Whispers to P.:) He got a girlfriend. Woohoo! One girlfriend by the ####!		
	Bad, yeah!?	By the ####.	
No tell anybody, okay?			
	And you zip your mouth and no talk.		
Yeah, no, shut your mouth.			(P. pantomimes zipping his lip).
	But how you going eat? That's why, zip your mouth? (Pretends his mouth is stuck shut).		(P. laughs).
		Huh, yea! Go like this! (Shows how to eat orange without opening mouth).	
	Eh, no, Ka.		
		What?	
	Look like you no more mouth, or you got orange mouth. (Laughs).		
		You stupid!	
	Yeah, yeah, yeah, Ke., yeah?		
		Not!	
Yes. And look like you got orange in your mouth. And you lolo (crazy). And you Filipino.	Yeah, you lolo!		
			P.: Ah!
	Eh, know what you can do with this (orange rind)?		P.: He going look like Billy, yeah?
. . .		(Puts orange rind in mouth. Shows others his orange teeth) Mm! Hmmm!	
	Look, I got orange teeth, yeah? (Puts orange rind in his mouth and starts waving his arms in the air).		

Ke.	B.	Ka.	Others
		(Shows his orange teeth & waves his arms). Mm m m m!	
			E: What you get in your mouth?
(Puts orange rind in his mouth and waves his arms).		(Shows E. his orange teeth).	
			(E. laughs).
(Ke. removes orange). Some guy even bite um. (Puts orange back in).			
		(Beats his chest like ape).	
(Beats his chest).			Teacher: Ke.! Ke.! Ke.! Let's show that you've learned how to eat!
(Beats his chest; does ape movements)		(Beats his chest; apes). I ate all this thing, yeah? (Makes nonsense noises and faces. Wipes his mouth with a napkin).	
	(Makes noises).		(All laugh).
(Makes noises and waves arms.)		(Makes faces.)	
			(All laugh).
(Falls off chair).			T.: Ke., because you're making so much noise, are you through eating snack?... let's eat now or I will ask you to leave the table.
		Ho! (Makes face of astonishment at Ke.)	
			(P. laughs).
		Ho! (Makes faces at Ke.) (Makes slurping sounds).	
But watch this! Look! (Burps and makes faces).			T.:Ka., are you finished?!